[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjèy phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 782 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779 776

1 [i.e. barley beer -- Analyst]

before each lama, one of yellow silk, the others of light, gauze-like cotton weave; next to these they put three rupees for each one of them except the head lama who received five. They did not even glance at the greeting cloths; but every one of the "holy men" immediately reached for the silver coins and tested them for their genuineness. The lamas are usually good business people. 585 782

Now the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons in the house temple received their part of the wedding offering. According to their rank, each one of the mighty had a number of greeting cloths placed at its feet; offering lamps of brass fuelled with butter, dishes of rice, barley, and beer were placed on the altar in front of the statues. Gautama Buddha, the Great Compassionate Chanrezigs, and the kind Tara, the giver of marital happiness and of the mother's joys were honored by gifts of silk cloths; the other gods and the demons had to be contented with light muslin strips.

/95/ After the priests up above have received their share, the Nyaopas descend to the terrace where the feasting and the drinking are going on in full swing. Between the rows of guests three enormous wedding cakes (97) have been erected of tiles which are made of barley flour dough mixed with butter and sugar. Next to them stand five huge filled earthen beer jugs. To the sound of three clarinets, one lute, and three kettle drums the Nyaopas now conduct a dance around the cakes and the beer jugs. The musicians here are Bedas (see note 12)). The tune and the rhythm of the music sounds strange to our ears, more like a deafening noise that anything else. But this music drives the Tibetan dancers on, as the most beautiful march or waltz does the German youth. The rhythmical movements, first a slow walk and rocking of the hips, gradually goes over into a livelier tempo, a dance which becomes constantly more rapid and livelier, and which finally turns into wild jumping and hopping. While the legs march and spring to the beat of the music the arms and hands, which hold a long sash, are in constant rocking motion. Some men arise from the row of guests, stand by the dancers, beat out the rhythm with their hands, and by shouts incite the dancers to ever wilder movements which assume more and more the expression of wild abandonment. 585 585 535

97. aBran-rgyas, literally "offering cake, food offering"; but of this cake only one "tile" is offered to the gods, the rest is consumed by the participants of the feast.

Wölfing: /perhaps just a coinage meaning "wolf-man."--translator./) 585
from Teya had promised a sheep and now he only brought a little 431
goat's kid. "The wolf has eaten his sheep himself," Bandhepa thereupon mocked, alluding to the name of the man who had a reputation for being stingy. It was Bandhepa, as may be recalled, who always opened his mouth the widest. "That's right, and the ram stank too much for him, and therefore he wanted to get rid of it," some of the other men immediately joined in. These taunts went on in this manner for the entire day until there was almost a fight with the wolf-man. The lonpo who was respected among all of them, finally established peace again.

The celebration lasted far into the night. The later it became, 585
the wilder the goings-on got. Yon-tan from the Break-leg house, the brother of the village lama, would begin to sing drinking songs /114/ which provoked the guests to drink. No one wanted to be behind the other in this, everyone tried to outdo the other in drinking. Few of them stayed sober like Lobsang Wanggyal who, although he was a host who liked to appear generous and who liked to see jolly guests around him, nevertheless kept measure in drinking himself.

As it became dark there suddenly appeared a troupe of Bedas, [563]
men and women, boys and girls, of Aryan-Indian descent, an itinerant 585
people of musicians and jugglers who always appear wherever happy 533
occasions are being celebrated and where there is something to be 535
earned. Some of the boys and girls had attractive, regular features, but their deportment was brash and provoking. The Bedas sang Indian and Tibetan songs to the lute, some of these with a delicate and fragrant content. Their dances, accompanied by the sound of the lute and of the tambourine were also not without their charm. But the later it got and the more everybody's blood was stirred, the wilder and more passionate the songs and the dances became; and at times the celebration threatened to degenerate into a wild orgy, something which Lobsang Wanggyal, however, was able to prevent.

The young bridegroom appeared among the guests for a short 585
period of time and sitting among his relatives he listened for a while to the goings-on. But towards evening, as soon as this seemed feasible, he left the carousing and brawling company whose doings he did not enjoy. His young wife looked on at the dances for a while, standing in the door with her Bagrogs; then she disappeared too.

Not till late at night did the people from Tingmogang and the guests from the neighboring villages set out on their way home. Once

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

loose red trowsers, the ends of which are tucked into the boots, and a shawl over their shoulders; they go bare-headed, and wear their hair in a number of small plaits which hang down the back. On the top of their heads the married women wear a *pirák* or silver ornament from which depend strings of beads on both sides of their faces, and long tails of leather studded with coarse turquoises. The girls wear only a single turquoise threaded on the hair near the parting: this, like the snood in Scotland, is a sign of their being unmarried. In winter both sexes wear great-coats made of sheep skin with the wool on. In Láhaul the dress of the men is much the same as that worn in Kúlu, the only difference being that the coat is longer and of thicker and darker cloth, and that trowsers are always worn; the women, on the other hand, dress like those of Spiti, except that straw sandals replace the long boots. It is not easy at first to distinguish a Láhauli nun, if young, from a lad, as they shave their heads and dress like men.

Amusements.

Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow are amusements common to both Láhaul and Spiti, and are practised at meetings held at particular seasons. Prizes are given at the races, and the rider of the last horse is subjected to a good deal of ridicule and practical jocking. The target at an archery meeting consists generally of a pillar of snow with a leaf for a bull's eye. The archers excite themselves by treating the pillar as an effigy of some traditional tyrant, and cry out "let the Rana of Ghfisa have it in the goitre" or "give the Kárdang *naplang*, one in the eye." Stakes of cash or grain are shot for.* Both Spiti men and Láhaulis have almost always got dice about them, with which they amuse themselves by gambling at odd moments. Evening parties are common enough, at which much *cháng* or beer is drunk, and men and women dance a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of flageolets and tambourines played by the *Bedas*.

Constitution of the family.

In Láhaul as in Kúlu generally only one family lives in one house. The average number of souls is 5·7 per house and 5·5 per family. In Sára, that is the valley of the Bhága, it is common for several brothers to live together; but separation is becoming more common. In Pattan, where Hindúism prevails, division is the rule of the Spiti family. Mr. Anderson writes as follows:—

"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in return. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *gompa* (or monastery), where they are entitled to maintenance. Should a *láma's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take possession of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following names":—

* Formerly the bow was the weapon both of war and of the chase in these countries. Mr. Lyall remembers meeting in Spiti a man from Great Tibet who carried a very well made and powerful sling as a weapon of defence.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Monasteries or *gépha* in Láhaul and Spiti.

These monasteries are extensive buildings, standing on high ground, and apart from the villages. In the centre of the pile are the public rooms consisting of chapels, refectories, and store-rooms; round them are clustered the separate cells in which the monks live. Each landholder's family has its particular *tásha* or cell in the monastery to which it is hereditarily attached, and in this all the monks of the family, uncles, nephews, and brothers, may be found living together. The monks ordinarily mess in these separate quarters, and keep their books, clothes, cooking utensils, and other private property in them. Some mess singly, others two or three together. A boy monk, if he has no uncle to look after him, is made a pupil to some old monk, and lives in his cell; there are generally two or three chapels, one for winter, another for summer, and a third perhaps the private chapel of the abbot or head *lámá*. The monks meet in the chapel to perform the services, which ordinarily consist of readings from the sacred books; a sentence is read out and then repeated by the whole congregation. Narrow carpets are laid lengthways on the floor of the chapel, one for each monk; each has his allotted place, and a special position is assigned to the reader: the abbot sits on a special seat of honour, raised a little above the common level of the floor; the chapels are fine large rooms open down the centre, which is separated from the sides by rows of wooden pillars. At the far end is the altar consisting of a row of large coloured figures, the images of the *avatár* or incarnation of Buddha of the present age, of the coming *avatár* of the next age, and of Gúrú Rimbochi, Atísha, and other saints. In some chapels a number of small brass images from China are ranged on shelves on one side of the altar, and on the other stands a book-case full of the sacred books, which are bundles of loose sheets printed from engraved slabs in the fashion which has been in use in Tibet for many centuries. The walls all round the chapel are painted with figures of male or female divinities, saints, and demons, or hung with pictures on cloth with silk borders; similar pictures on cloth are also suspended across the chapel on ropes; the best pictures are brought from Great Tibet as presents to the monastery by monks who return from taking the degree of Gelang at Lhásá, or who have been living for some years in one of the monasteries of that country. They are painted in a very quaint and conventional style, but with considerable power of drawing and colouring. Huge cylindrical prayer-wheels, which spin round at a slight touch of the finger, stand round the room, or on each side of the altar. In the store-rooms among the public property are kept the dresses, weapons, and fantastic masks used in the *chám* or religious plays (these masks much resemble the monstrous faces one sees in the carving outside Gothic Cathedrals); also the drums and cymbals, and the robes and quaint head-dresses worn by the superior monks at high ceremonies.*

[554] 778 792 346 532 [798] [796] 796 535

* The *chám* or religious dances performed in the Tibetan monasteries are worth seeing: if introduced into a Christmas Pantomime in London, they would be effective as tableaux or spectacles. The abbot and superior monks, dressed in full canonicals, sit round the court-yard of the monastery, clanking huge cymbals to a slow time or measure. Bands of other monks, dressed in brilliant silk robes, with hideous masks, or extraordinary head-dresses, and with strange weapons in their hands, dance

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B

Social and Religious Life.

Monasteries or gómpás in Láhaul and Spiti.

The refectory or public kitchen is only used on the occasion of certain festivals, which sometimes last several days, during which special services are performed in the chapels; while these festivals last the monks mess together, eating and drinking their full of meat, barley, butter and tea. The main source from which the expense of these feasts is met is the *pun*, which is not divided among the monks for every-day consumption in the separate cells. To supply his private larder, each monk has, in the first place, all he gets from his family in the shape of the produce of the "*lámá's* field" or otherwise; secondly he has his share, according to his rank in the monastery, of the *bula* or funeral offerings and of the harvest alms; thirdly, anything he can acquire in the way of fees for attendance at marriages or other ceremonies or in the way of wages for work done in the summer. The funeral offerings made to the monasteries on the death of any member of a household consist of money, clothes, pots and pans, grain, butter, &c.; the harvest alms consist of grain collected by parties of five or six monks sent out on begging expeditions all over Spiti by each monastery just after the harvest. They go round from house to house in full dress, and standing in a row, chant certain verses, the burden of which is—"we are men who have given up the world, give us, in charity, the means of life; by so doing you will please God whose servants we are." The receipts are considerable, as each house gives something to every party. On the death of a *lámá*, his private property, whether kept in his cell or deposited in the house of the head of the family, goes not to the monastery, but to his family, first to the *lámás* of it, if any, and in their default, to the head or *láng chimpa*. When a *lámá* starts for Lhásá, to take his degree, his *láng chimpa* is bound to give him what he can towards the expenses of the journey, but only the better-to-do men can afford it; many who go to Lhásá get high employ under the Lhásá Government, are sent to govern monasteries, &c., and remain there for years; they return in old age to their native monastery in Spiti bringing a good deal of wealth, of which they always give some at once to their families.

Monks and friars

The monks of Pín are of the Dukhpa, and not of the Gelukpa or celibate class to which those of the other four monasteries belong; they marry in imitation of their patron saint Gúrú Rimbóchi, though in their books marriage is not approved of; this saint founded several orders, of which that to which the monks of Pín belong is the most ancient, and is called Ngyángma. The wives and families of the monks live not in the monasteries, but in small houses in the villages. Every son of a *lámá* or monk becomes a *bosan*, which is the name given to a low order of strolling monks or friars. There are nineteen families of these *bosans* in Pín *kothí*. Sometimes the younger son of a landholder becomes a *bosan* in preference to going into the monastery. These *bosans* are a very curious set of people; they get a living by wandering in small parties

in time to the measure, advancing and retreating, turning and whirling with strange studied steps and gestures. The story of the ballet is the combat of the gods with the demons. The latter had become too powerful and tyrannical over mankind, so the gods descended from heaven, took the shapes of strange beasts and in that guise fought with and destroyed them.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4 Spiti

[P. 5]

Dancing

635 All the people dance on occasions of merriment, — girls and men. At Kuling, while the Buzhans were dancing six or eight girls joined in.

554 535. Professional dancing women are looked down and the peasant-proprietors will not eat with them. They are not usually prostitutes, though the unmarried ones may be.

III.

Objects connected with Religion.

Cenotaphs.

778 Strictly speaking, the chorten is an object of worship; the dungten is a bone receptacle. The *chorten*, usually made of wood, is the substitute for the *dungten*, which contains the bones of some abbot or saint and is situated too far away for practical worship.

Such is the origin, but in modern usage the *chorten* is merely a Buddhist symbol, and like a brass *deota*, may have no relation to any special *dungten* or to the bones of any particular saint.

Altars.

778 788 Heaps of stones are erected to local spirits— to the *lha* of the pass or ravine and so on,— and every passer-by adds a stone or a horn. Horns are more acceptable to the *lha* than stones and the most acceptable gift is a *lungta* (cloth with prayers printed on it).

Every traveller adds a stone, even if in a strange place, where he does not know to which *lha* the altar has been erected. A white stone is the best. Black stones are from the evil spirits and are never placed on the heap. Usually a fallen stone is replaced and only when there are no fallen stones is a fresh one sought for.

A *lungta* is only added on special occasions. Thus, when a merchant sets out on a trading venture, he leaves a *lungta* containing a prayer for his success, his name and the name of the year.

IV.

Superstitions.

Magic Dagger.

787 The *dorja phurpa* or magic dagger is used by the *choba*, attendant on the sick, and by the

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Hemis, the first monastery in all of Ladakh, is still an ideal physical setting for a retreat; and over the centuries it has become rich not only in lands and other wealth, but in legends as well.

The lamas put on their dances, and even the most stupid person can see Lust, Anger, and Greed in all their ugliness.

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[Facing p. 160]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The boy of eleven is the sixth Incarnate Lama of Hemis, the reincarnation of Stagtsang Raspa, who founded the monastery.

788

At Hemis there are a half dozen or so prayer wheels set in the left-hand wall along rough rock steps leading down from one wing. They are filled with prayers which are repeated incessantly day and night, week after week, year after year.

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The lama dances, like the old morality plays in Europe, were a church service in the true sense of the term.

[Facing p. 161]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

538 788 Then came the hunter, who, seeing the deer and the dog lying down together, believed the dog had been bewitched. So he drew his sword to kill the dog. As he approached, Mila Repa began to intone, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."* The hunter was strongly affected by the chant. He stood undecided and torn. Before long he returned his sword to the scabbard and, approaching Mila Repa, prostrated himself before the Holy One.

• 535 796 A lama dance (*chham*) is built around these characters[1]—a play illustrating the old Tibetan proverb and Buddhist teaching, "There is no sin so great as killing."

Phuntzog put on some lama dances for us. But the act of the deer, the dog, and the hunter was not included. The dances we saw, like the old morality plays of Europe, were a church service in the true sense of the term.

They were performed in the courtyard in front of the main monastery building. Opposite the stairs leading down from the monastery sat the Rinpoche and the Lobon. Each of them is usually dressed in a long, flowing, dark red robe, wrapped toga-like around him so that his right arm is bare. Now the left arm was bare, and a bright yellow shawl was draped over the shoulders and around the waist. Rinpoche wore a peaked red hat that had no brim but came down over the back of his neck. Phuntzog wore a big red hat whose brim flared up and stood like great sails sewn together. Rinpoche sat on a dais with the gold bell and gold *dorje* in front of him. Phuntzog sat on his right. Farther to the right was a great array of musicians—trumpeters, drummers, and two men who blew giant horns. They were bedecked in gaily [534] colored clothes and tall red hats of various designs. The trumpets were of the clarinet type, made of wood and brass. The drums stood on edge, held four or five feet off the ground by a pedestal, and attached to them were cymbals. The drums were struck by sticks bent into the shape of huge question marks. The two horns (*shawms*) were each twelve feet long. The larger end was about eighteen inches in diameter. It rested on the ground.

[1] [From legends. See p. 173 -- ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Om Mani Padme Hoom

The two lamas who played these horns were extraordinary men. To be able to blow the horns at all seemed to me remarkable. The fact is that one man cannot blow one horn for many consecutive seconds. That means that the other horn must come in and pick up the pitch where the first horn leaves it. This requires great skill, as one relieves the other over and again, hour after hour, while the orchestra drones on and on.

It takes hours to present the lama dances. The pageantry is superb; the story, exciting; the plot, simple; the moral, plain. They have been described by Ted Shawn in *Gods Who Dance.* The characters were all masked. Some wore masks of people; others wore masks of lions, stags, oxen, and yaks. These masks—carved from solid blocks of wood and colored with a glossy and brilliant enamel—usually had grotesque expressions. Their hideous features, their terrifying grimaces led early European visitors to the monasteries to call these the Devil Dances. That is a misnomer. The dancers represented the forces of Good as well as the forces of Evil. The main emphasis of the theme was the struggle between the two. After a few serious scenes, the producer of the dance changed the pace and sent in comedy relief. These were gay, carefree, burlesque-type characters. After they left, the serious took up again. Apart from these interruptions, the story marched steadily onward—Good gaining the ascendancy; Evil gradually being routed.

A triangle had been drawn on the cobblestones of the courtyard and inside this triangle there was a small black image representing a human corpse. Dancers dashed madly around it, engaged in a foray of sickles and swords as they tried to snatch this corpse from the triangle. The lesson was plain—man is helpless and guideless; he lives among vast unkind elements of earth and sky that seek perpetually to destroy him. Only Dharma, man's good action in life, can guard him against the evil designs of the spirits.

The final act was put on by two characters representing virtue—the Stag and the Yak. The heads worn by the lamas in this dance

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans A

were huge and realistic. The Stag and the Yak each had swords. It soon appeared that their main objective was the Evil in man, who was represented by a dummy stuffed with straw. The act ended with the Stag and the Yak cutting this prostrate figure to pieces.

I was dashing about filming this dance and making a recording of the music. Once I stepped close to the Rinpoche and the Lobon. The Rinpoche, I noticed, reached out every few minutes and rang the gold bell. Its sound was drowned out in the tremendous rumblings from the giant horns, the clash of cymbals, the beating of drums, and the shrill of the trumpets. But I could distinctly hear above all the clashing sounds of the orchestra the deep guttural of Phuntzog and the piping tenor of Rinpoche, chanting, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom, Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

It was at the beginning of my trek that Rahul first told me about this mantra. *Om Mani Padme Hoom* means "O Jewel of the Lotus." The lotus is the most beautiful of flowers, though in India it grows out of mud and filth. The lotus thrives in the most unattractive places; it adorns spots seared by plagues; it blossoms in an environment of oppressive poverty; it furnishes a breathless purity in yards contaminated by man and his creations.

Buddha was born in a lotus. Like it, he brought glory, purity, and beauty to oppressed and poverty-ridden people. Buddha, like the lotus, lived above his environment. He showed that the spirit of man can rise beyond the lowliest and filthiest source and find perfection even among the dregs of the earth. He showed how goodness can come out of misery, poverty, and dirt.

This is the immortal message of *Om Mani Padme Hoom.* It is on the lips of millions every minute of every hour. People who never saw a lotus chant it endlessly. Though its meaning may be lost to most of the millions who use it, in this part of the world it is the medium for communion, the symbol of reverence, the devotional exercise, the pious prayer, the sign of the cross.

I remembered that Rahul had said that holy men along the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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A BIRTHDAY ENTERTAINMENT.

Women dancing at an entertainment in Leh. The gesture indicates the plucking of a flower.

MEN DANCERS AT A WEDDING.

Resting between their performances. At the extreme left of the *front row* is the bridegroom, while the gentlemen in the upper row to the left with peculiar turnover hats are his uncles.

[FACING P 184]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Unfortunately this performance of breaking the boulder has twice led to fatalities in Ladak, by children trying to imitate it on one of their small companions.

But, besides the dancing of monks and magicians, Ladak has its own country dances for pure pleasure. Perhaps the ordinary women's dancing has a slight religious element, for in the course of it, the right hand is raised, and the gestures made to signify the plucking of a flower, the opening out of the bud into blossom, and then its presentation to the gods. But even these motions of the hand are said to originate in the old Dard custom of greeting each other by raising the arm, and moving the closed fist to and fro. The rest of the dance is very slow and monotonous, though Ladakis themselves never seem to tire of it, and it is performed on every festive occasion. The ladies certainly look quite picturesque with their broad well-turquoised *perags*, their gay capes, quaint turned-up embroidered shoes, and wristlets of chased silver or white shell, which they knock together in respectful salutation to the King, or presiding official, at the beginning and end of the dance. Their capes in winter are of long white sheeps' wool, covered on the outside with large squares of green and red cloth. In the heat of summer they are replaced by fringed capes with Kashmir or Yarkandi embroidery, or, better still, beautifully worked Chinese silk. The women who take part in these dances are members of a certain superior grade of the farming land-owners, each household of which has to provide a woman dancer for the King, who must come whenever he summons her. There is thus nothing of the immoral Indian nautch about this historical country dance. The services of these respectable women are especially exacted in winter, when for some days at the New Year and the festival of *Dosmoche* they must dance daily. In return for this they enjoy the food and festivities of the royal household. Formerly there were about thirty, now only seven usually turn out, who certainly cannot claim to have been

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

selected for either their youth or beauty. Other dances, such as the " pigeon " dance occur, in which both sexes join, though without touching each other as in the West, and the " shoulder " dance of women only, in which movement of the shoulder are prominent. In the *shondros*, also a woman's dance, the partners face each other, then wheel round till they come back to back, afterwards slowly reversing again till they face once more. At the end of the horse-racing in the New Year, a dance occurs in the middle of the bazar in which the women stand in a circle, and the men dance round them in pursuance of an old custom connected with royalty. A dance for both sexes, called the " peacock dance," has its song about that bird. Otherwise the Ladaki dancing differs from that of Tibet, which is said to be always accompanied by singing.

It has now become practically an annual event for the Wazir to have a display in honour of the British Joint Commissioner, at which other dances and plays are seen, and the stage properties of Leh obtain their yearly airing. To this *ltadmo* any Europeans who happen to be in Leh at the time are hospitably invited. The programme usually begins in the afternoon between two and three o'clock, when it is opened with some sort of prayer for His Imperial Majesty and H.H. the Maharajah of Kashmir. The former may take the form of " God Save the King " sung by the Boys' School in English with their own peculiar accent. The boys of the State School then act a little play, more or less in costume, and always with a very powerfully pointed moral; and, of late, a demonstration of Boy Scouts of both State and Mission Schools has become a feature of the programme. This may be followed by a lama dance in devil-masks, and tea is usually served between four and five p.m. For this the *élite* withdraw from the covered balcony, from which they have been watching the performance, to tents or a simple pagoda in the Wazir's pleasant garden behind. The Europeans have one tent, the

sacrifice was, in later times, probably during the nineteenth century, replaced by an animal sacrifice. If, therefore, human sacrifices once took place in Tibet, these were probably transformed into animal sacrifices at a much earlier time. Animal sacrifices, on the other hand, /27/ are still performed to this day in the area of the West Tibetan kingdom before altars of the pre-Buddhistic religion, which are called ha-tho. At this sacrifice the heart of the still living animal (ram) is ripped out by the priest with his bare hand. Such altars are nowadays mostly found in the neighborhood of villages. They are one or two meters high, provided at the top with a bundle of juniper twigs, and down below they are surrounded with horns of wild sheep and ibexes.

A more harmless offering is represented in a rock drawing near Ke-sar-gyi-sga. There we see a Nyo-pa, "bride purchaser" or "bride beggar" (1) who is carrying a sword by his side and in his

1. He is probably the leader of the Nyopa. For in the picture in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX, p. 131, only the leader has an arrow in his hand.

right hand an arrow decorated with a little flag, and is standing in front of three beer jugs. Each jug is provided with little patties of butter along the edge, which signify that the beer is offered to a higher being (it might, it is true, also be a person to whom high respect is paid). The fact that the gods were actually presented with offerings of beer can be seen from No. 5 of the Trinklieder von Khalatse /Drinking Songs of Khalatse/.[1]

It is highly probable that dances were also performed at these ancient places of worship, for even today each festival of the ancient religion is accompanied by dancing. Usually the boys and the girls dance separately among themselves by pacing around an open wood fire in a long procession. It is seldom that the rows of boys and girls, arranged in lines opposite each other, move toward each other. In the dances of the girls, peculiar stiff movements of the hands are noticeable, which alternate with the bending of the upper part of the body toward the ground. As I was told by the natives, these movements are to be interpreted as gathering flowers and presenting them to the gods in heaven. These dances performed by the laity should probably be distinguished from the dances of the Buddhistic priests and from those executed by the migrant jugglers.

To the question as to what the people prayed for at the cult places of the ancient religion, we receive one answer from the

[1] [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references.--Analyst]

To this description should be added the killing of the goat, a gruesome sacrifice in front of the altar of the village god (Yul-lha). To the living animal has its heart ripped out of its body. 796

With respect to the dances and the disguises, it should also be pointed out that we are here dealing with games that symbolize in substance the battle between the gods of light and the demons of darkness. These games later developed into the famous masked dances of the monasteries. In Lamayuru these masked dances still take place today during the winter. In Hemis, on the other hand, they are performed in June. The celebration in Hemis may well be connected with the summer solstice. 796 535

2. gTor-ma-phan-ces. As the preceding description has indicated, a type of this festival is already connected with the New Year's festival. For the throwing away of the gTor-ma offering is very reminiscent of the driving out of winter. This finds an even clearer expression later on. Then a human doll is fashioned out of lime in Khalatse (and also elsewhere). This doll is then carried, with much shouting and music, outside the village, where it is destroyed. In Leh the evil spirits of winter and of the diseases are trapped inside cages (dos-mo) constructed out of rods and strings and looking like spider webs, and these structures are then destroyed outside the village. 796

3. The Kesar festival. So far I have found this festival referred to as the "Kesar festival" only in Upper Kunawar. In Ladakh it is simply called mDa-phan-ces, "shooting with bow and arrow." It is celebrated in the spring. The songs that are known under the name of Glin-glu are sung, and the young people amuse themselves with archery. Just as the spindle is the emblem of aBru-gu-ma and of the female in general, so the arrow is considered the symbol of Kesar and the male. In the /30/ following I shall give the titles of the songs of the Glin-glu: In Phyi-dban the following songs are sung: 1. Kesar, the conqueror of the four worlds. 2. Slumber song for the little Kesar. 3. Kesar and the treasures of the giants. 4. Praise of the wisdom of aBru-gu-ma. 5. The almighty father of the gods and mother of the gods. 6. The return of Kesar and of aBu-gu-ma. 7. Don-grub, a voluntary savior of the world. 8. aBru-gu-ma's innocence. 9. The prayer of the king of Hor asking for his life. [831]

In Khalatse the following songs are sung: 1. Voices from heaven. 2. Dedication of the arrows. 3. Kesar's four victories. 4. Kesar and the mules. 5. Kesar's prayer on the Srar mountain pass. 6. Kesar's return to aBru-gu-ma. 7. aBru-guma's farewell

Table II [1]

531 773 Number 6. The "wishing cow of Paradise" (aDod-ajoi-ba). (Compare photograph.) Underneath it a musk animal. The latter drawing was later destroyed.

Number 7 and 10. The "big old ibex." A personification of the cliff. Above number 7 a hallowed offering is drawn.

Number 8. Two Garuda (Khyun), so-called "ear-garuda."

Number 9. The horned Agu Pa-san-ldan-ru-skyes.

Number 12. The same Agu in battle.

Number 11. Two water snakes (Naga).

531 771 " 13. Priests of the old religion. So-called On-po.

531 535 " 14 and 16. Religious dances. The dancers stand in single file, one behind the other. In number 16 the leaders stand outside the line.

782 585 531 " 15. Beer offerings of the bride purchasers. Three jugs of beer, decorated around the edge at the top with little pieces of butter (ka-lcor). The leader of the bride purchasers is holding in his right hand an arrow decorated with little flags.

Table III [2]

531 782 778 Number 17, 18. Hallowed offerings, flour and cake.

" 19. A small altar of the old religion.

" 20. Probably a dos-mo. (Compare photograph.)

" 21. Hallowed offering of flowers or twigs of juniper.

" 22. The ear-garuda (rNa-khyun), in front of it a fox, behind it illegible letters.

1 [See p. 98, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

2 [See p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

15: Francke--100 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/Illustrations and Photographs./ 1

532 /(1)/ Number 1. Dance of the bride purchasers (Drawing by a native artist in Ladakh).
585
292
535 The bride purchasers (five here instead of seven) can be identi-
534 fied by their tall, golden hats, which characterize them as "children
415 of the gods." The leader is holding an arrow with little flags in his hand. They dance by sliding a shawl like a snake across their shoulders. The music: Two oboe players, two drummers each with two kettledrums, and two tambourine beaters. The people clap their hands to the beat of the music. The family of the bride is inside the tent. Beer jugs made of clay and brass.

778 /(2)/ No. 2. Altars that have fallen into disrepair, dedicated
772 to the three realms of the world. They were probably painted blue, red, and white. In the Skinling Valley near Khalatse.

531 No. 3. Rock drawings along the Indus River near Khalatse.
778
137 Buddhist stupas, between them a small, horned altar belonging to the pre-Buddhist religion. Twigs of the caper shrub.

778 /(3)/ No. 4. Rig-adzin-mgon-po of Gad-pa near Leh.

Three stupas of blue, white, and red color respectively. Continued existence of altars painted in the same manner and belonging to the old religion, within Buddhism.

133 /(4)/ No. 5. View of the Tibetan part of the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Rough altar of the pre-Buddhist religion. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

772 /(5)/ No. 6. The holy mountain Purgyul in the upper Sutlej
778 Valley.

Like the Kailas it belongs to the Tibetan Olympus. Up above live the gods and the redeemed human beings. Drawing by Prince Waldemar of Prussia (1845).

1 [See pp. 103-112, Category 116--Analyst]

15; Francke --103 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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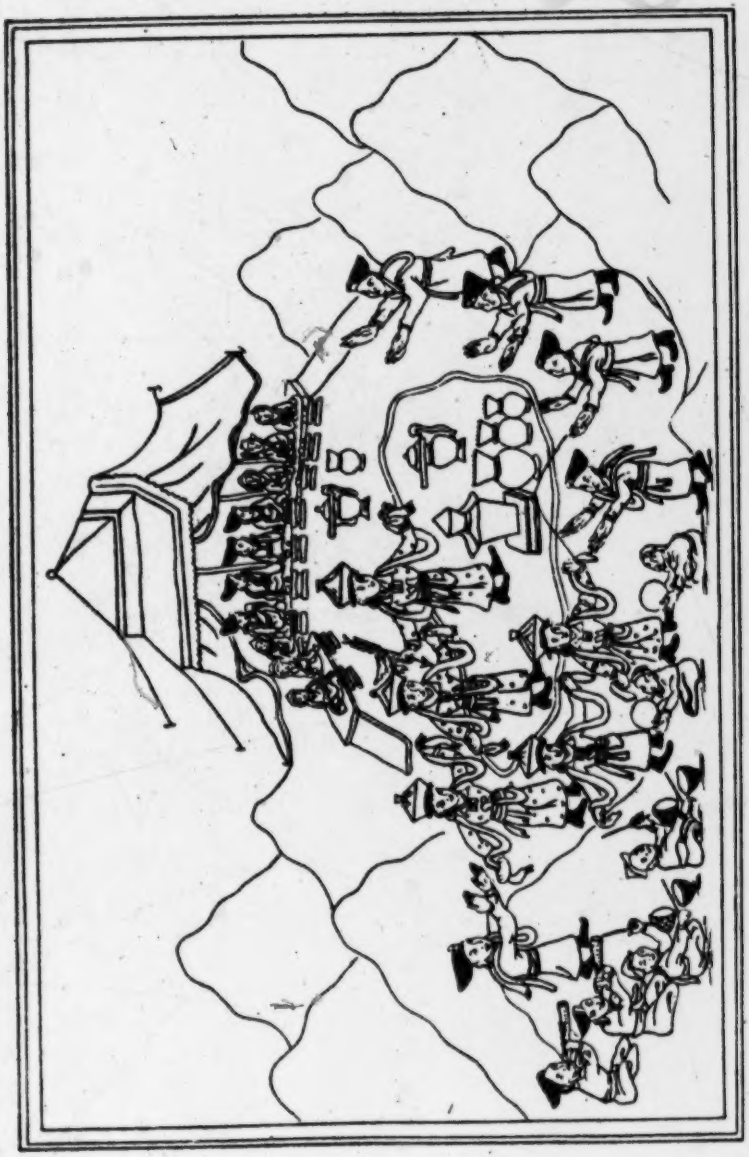

Nr. 1. Caption for above picture appears on page 100

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak although

(there exist patrilineal clans here, as in Lahul, called *p'ha-spun* (*P'ha-sPun*), of which I shall speak later), dual descent is taken into consideration in what concerns degrees of marriage prohibition. Thus one can never marry within the paternal clan, and only a blood relative of one's mother beyond the seventh degree of relationship. In the poorer classes it is said that such a prohibition is only observed up to the fifth degree.

The wedding ceremonies of the well-to-do Ladaki families are most elaborate and spectacular. In more modest households, however, *chang* is simply offered three or four times to the bride's relatives after *Tri-chang* in what is called *Bsu-chang* (*bSu-ch'hang*) or "taking-home-*chang*", and on the day fixed for the wedding, the bridegroom's (eldest) father, *azhang* or maternal uncle and some of the members of his *p'ha-spun* escort the girl to his house and the main ceremony follows. This is similar to the equivalent ceremony among the wealthier people, which I now propose to describe in greater detail.

We should first distinguish between *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, and since the former of the two is the most elaborate, I shall take it first. Before the commencement of the principal ceremonies, and after the formalities following upon the *Go-ras* ritual have taken place, a feast called *Drags-chang* (*Drags-ch'hang*) or "very much *chang*" is given to the bride's parents by their relatives. They bring *tsampa*, *chang*, sheep and goat carcasses, tea, butter, rice and cash to help them with the occasion. The same kind of feast is held in the bridegroom's house for his (or their) parents by the latters' relatives.

Then the first phase of the wedding festivities begins. On the date decided upon, a procession is formed at the bridegroom's house. It consists of his father, his *azhang*, members of his *p'ha-spun*, fifteen to twenty in number. It never includes the boy himself, who stays at home and waits. Towards the close of day, all these people will set out accompanied by a dancing party, gorgeously dressed, of five to nine *Nya-opas* (*gNya-bo-pa*) or "witnesses". These, chosen among the friends and companions of the bridegroom, are designated by astrology; their principal qualification is that they know the appropriate dance steps and songs to be sung. They are led by a *Nya-pön* (*gNya-dPon*) or "chief witness".

As they proceed towards the bride's house, they are offered *chang* and *tsampa* on the way by anyone who cares to come along from the village. They take these offerings in their hands as blessings of good luck, and in return pay out cash in small coins. Some distance from

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

771 779 are few. It was the Emperor Asoka, the great missionary-monarch, who between the years 272 and 231 B.C. first sent Buddhist missionaries to Ladakh on goodwill missions, and on their arrival there they built monasteries.

[212] 181 533 535 The people of this land claim that ninety per cent of the population are literate although they are simple and unsophisticated; they are carefree, gay and sociable, the smallest excuse providing for a feast with laughter, dancing and singing, with an opportunity for drinking large quantities of *chang*, which results in general drunkenness. Births, marriages and even deaths are ordinary occasions for feasting and drinking, with singing and dancing girls always a part of the entertainment. Arthur Neve said of them, "They are a contented cheerful race, neither quarrelsome nor revengeful, or rarely so under the influence of *chang*, a sort of barley beer. They are fairly honest and simple-minded, but conspicuously lacking in chastity and cleanliness. From simple and natural marriage customs they are debarred by the restricted nature of the country, and by the intense cold in winter, from ablutions, which they also dispense with in summer by choice."

361 526 On entering the town one passes through a gateway into the main street, one which is shaded by great poplars on both sides, behind which are the flat-roofed houses with odd rooms piled high on top of each other. In this wide street, as is common in Ladakh, polo used to be played; now there is a special ground for the game by the castle wall. Polo is the national game and is played on small shaggy Ladakh ponies which are fast and on which the rider looks oversized. When a game is in progress in the other towns, the street is cleared, the shops shut, and the onlookers sit on the walls, in windows or on the roof tops. At "important" matches a band blasts furiously, working both players and watchers up to a terrific tension.

[515] [356] 342 132 The surprising thing is that although the people never wash and are filthy in their persons, their homes are reasonably clean and tidy, the lanes and streets are swept, and there is no litter or filth lying about. The houses are substantial, with wooden shutters to the windows, for throughout the whole land, although it may be unbearably hot during the day, the nights can be bitter: some declare that a bucket of water stood out on some

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]
W. Tibetans A54

numbered, being held between two flat slats of wood. None I saw told of the history of the land—on this I could only accept the word of the Head Lama—they consisted of prayers and mystical formulae. To watch them being printed was interesting, letters and words being cut on stereotyped wooden blocks which were pressed on the ink pad and then on the page of the book, just as cloth is hand-printed with floral decorations. It is necessary for the printer to be a man of education, one who knows what he is printing and has plenty of time and patience. No wonder that new "books" are rarely published.

In the red monastery which is on the top of the hill behind the palace, there is a great image of Matreiya which is twenty-five feet high. It was erected by King Ide, who must have miscalculated its height when building the chapel in which it was housed, for the head projects above the ceiling and another portion had to be built to take this.

With every possible occasion being made an excuse for festivities, music is a necessary contribution, and this is provided by Mon musicians. The Mons were the first to enter Ladakh in about 200 B.C. The band consists of a round-topped drum, cymbals, clarinets and trumpets which are anything up to twelve feet long. The dancing seems to consist of continuous twirls with the dancers going round in circles. The first time that I witnessed this was on the occasion of a wedding. The groom was then sitting on a swastika drawn for luck on the ground and awaiting his bride. The bridal party, dressed in gay gowns and high gilded hats, arrived, dancing as they came. After the ceremony all the relatives danced, each separately, but the whole dance consisting of whirling round and round, with the dancers formed in a circle which opened and closed. The women were each holding out one hand which they gracefully opened and closed—the opening of a blossom; the men also revolving, but at a slower pace, were performing the oddest movements with their necks, which could only be described as like a chicken pecking.

By hand and head movements the dancer tells a story, but the same movements may be used to convey a different meaning in other parts of the country or on various occasions. They are a gesture language of hand, head and feet as I had known and

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]
W. Tibetans AJ 4

535 seen in India, and all were spontaneous, it being only by chance that each dancer followed the other at that time, as I saw later on when the plentiful flow of *chang* was having its effect upon them.

796 We had made the journey over the passes earlier than was considered wise in the season simply to enable one of our party to film the Spring Festival which takes place in June in the Hermis Monastery, a great building which houses several hundreds of monks and is said to be fabulously wealthy, having escaped the invasion of the Dogras, and is believed to have hidden within its walls all the gold and valuables of other monasteries taken there before they were sacked. From Leh it is twenty-four miles—two marches.

The festival is famous and renowned throughout the Tibetan Buddhist world, and people come from hundreds of miles to witness it. The dance-play there performed by the lamas is so ancient that its origin is lost in the past. It is a mixture of a miracle play, pantomime and a fête parade, the whole scene brilliant and vivid with colour and movement, and blasting with sound, for the lama orchestra is composed of many drums, cymbals, clarinets, giant trumpets and triangles, which to my ear was pandemonium and seemed to make no attempt at keeping together, each of its members appearing bent on outshining the others.

796 The music is as fantastic as is everything in that land; it
533 breathes mystery. Nowhere else in the East, except in Tibet of course, is it to be heard. Yet I am assured that there is more science in it than the European ear is attuned to, though search as I did with the utmost desire to understand it, I was unable to discover its quality. There are strange discords, sudden changes, abrupt ceasings—at this latter the voices of the lamas which must have been there all the time in the background would continue in a lower key with melancholy chanting. My Ceylon friend assured me that the chants were older than those of any other religion, and that the quarter notes, with their very delicate distinctions which my ear could not catch, required hours of practice by the lamas of the choir. With the droning of the voices, the flatness and sameness of the music and the smell of incense—which certainly did to an extent smother the

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri W. Tibetans AV4

A Trip to Ladakh

riding on the same pony, an old lady and a pretty, rosy-cheeked damsel, and they smiled and nodded to us as we passed them. We thought they must be very up-to-date women, when all of a sudden we remembered that they had been our hostesses some days previously, for a certain Tibetan nobleman and his wife and daughter had entertained us at tea. But there was good reason for our not recognising them, for it is the custom for all respectable ladies to cover their faces with mud, so that these noble ladies with whom we drank tea were brown with mud, whilst these smiling ladies on horseback had beautiful rosy cheeks. Apparently when on a pilgrimage they need not wear this unbecoming veil of mud.

It took us two days to reach Hemis. The monastery is situated in a very narrow valley on the side of a mountain and not on the top as is usually the case, and to this fact, I am told, the monastery owes its escape from plunder when the country was invaded by Sikhs. This monastery is a very rich one and possesses stores of rich Chinese silks and jewels. The abbot showed us a great many of his treasures.

The play took place in a very fine courtyard, the monastery towering above one like a huge castle, a very impressive building. It contains three hundred monks, who wear yellow robes and are superior to the red-robed ones. The play lasts for the whole of one day and till noon on the second day, with no interlude, and is wearying to a degree. The idea of the play is to teach the people the power of the monks in future life. They act all the known, or rather unknown, horrors of hell and the only way of salvation through the holiness of the monks. Not a word is spoken; it is taught entirely by sight.

The acting is guided by the monastery band as to time, fervour, quietness, tempest, hell fire or death. The band

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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is directed by the precentor, and he by a big book in front of him. There is a fire burning in the centre of the court. Then there enter monks, dressed up in hideous masks with faces of various animals, such as dogs, tigers, dragons, etc.; they carry large three-pronged forks, and throw a clay figure of a man into the flames. The devils commence dancing round, pretending to stick their forks into the figure, and seem to be enjoying the sport of tormenting their victims. This scene continues for what seems to be an interminable time, when in come a party of monks from the great door of the monastery, dressed in coloured silk garments, wearing huge masks, and commence to march round and round hell fire, making various passes with their arms towards the flames. They begin with painfully slow steps, which are so monotonous that they get on one's nerves, the band playing softly but in terribly slow time.

Then the music quickens slightly, and then a little quicker, then quicker, until these holy monks fairly spin like dancing dervishes. The band works itself crazy with the screeching of its pipes, crashing cymbals, bellowing giant trumpets and resounding drum. Then all of a sudden there is dead silence, and we are all thankful for the respite. Then the whole dance commences over again from the very beginning, with one step every three seconds, and again working up to the whizz-bang. By this time this lot of holy men are tired out with their exertions and they disappear through the same great door from which they came. Immediately come in a second lot with a different set of great masks, some of them wearing most benign faces. They with the help of the band try their charms in marching and dances, and so one party succeeds another all through that day and part of the next without any success, for the flames of hell still

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri w. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

burn on and the devils have it all their own way until a party of super-holy monks arrive, who come with holy water, with which they conquer the flames, and then the devils one and all rush out of the arena amid a tempest of crashing and shrieking; but above it all is the sound of a mighty wind caused by all the monks whistling their loudest, and the whole band of devils, pitchforks and all, disappear into the monastery. I thought it would have been more impressive if they had all disappeared over the precipice or, if they could not manage that, down the rocks out of sight.

Well, we were mighty glad to see the last of these devils, and the blessed monks also, for our nerves were anyhow after all we had heard and seen, but all was not over, for the people were to see the priest perform a sort of high mass. In an open space rigged up as a chapel facing the courtyard which all could see was an altar with its usual complement of ornaments, lamps, holy water, chalice and paten.

The priest entered wearing a garment just like a surplice. He turned his back to the congregation and commenced his service at the altar.

Presently in came stealthily a clown with a coloured bladder in his hand with which he hit the priest over the head with a mighty whack and then darted behind a pillar and hid. Then again he crept up behind, stalking the priest, and dealt him another blow; but still the priest took no notice, so absorbed was he in his devotions. After another blow or two the priest looked round to see whence the blows had come, but of course he looked in the wrong direction, and the clown cocked a snook at him, a real gutter-snipe snook, from behind the pillar. It was all so like a Western pantomime that we could hardly believe we were watching a real Buddhist religious

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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ceremony in a real monastery. The people all round were thoroughly enjoying the play and were laughing heartily.

I could not find out the reason for this last act, but I suppose it was to show that the monks when engaged in their religious duties were too deeply engrossed to be disturbed by assaults of the devils. Well, it was a great show, and one wondered how much of it was believed by the people who had come from such long distances to see their religion acted.

It seemed to me that they were too jolly and cheery a lot to believe much in devils; they evidently saw the humour of it all. The abbot of the monastery told us that the monks had been practising for a whole year at the play, and showed us the rod of correction which he used on those monks who failed in their parts. It was a thick black stick weighted with brass. I felt sorry for those monks who did not live up to the form of Friar Tuck, and had not a good cushion of fat to protect their bones when the brass stick descended. But perhaps they knew the schoolboy's copy-book trick.

The great monastery mastiffs interested us, but we were thankful that they were chained. We were told that the dogs used to be kept in lieu of graves for the monks, or, in other words, to eat up the dead members of the brotherhood.

Some of them are very savage brutes. A friend of mine who was attacked by one had a bad time, although he himself was an athlete; he was obliged to go to bed for a day or two after the attack. I myself had a narrow shave one day. I went into a monastery uninvited to have a look round. When coming through a very narrow passage I saw one of these dogs fast asleep, as I imagined, and foolishly thought I could pass him if I walked